

Message Text

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51

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 NEA-14 ISO-00 SAM-01 INRE-00 IO-14 SSO-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

DRC-01 EURE-00 /125 W

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O 121830Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9813

INFO AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO IMMEDIATE

USINT ALGIERS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY DARESSALAAM

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO

USUN NEW YORK 472

CINCLANT

USCINCEUR

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PO

SUBJ: SPINOLA DEFINES PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN POLICY

SUMMARY: IN MAJOR STATEMENT OF POLICY ON PORTUGUESE AFRICA, PRESIDENT SPINOLA GAVE MARCHING ORDERS TO NEW GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, NEGOTIATING POSITION TO FONMIN SOARES, CLARIFICATION OF HIS INTENTIONS TO POPULATIONS IN PORTUGUESE AFRICAN TERRITORIES, AND FIRM SIGNAL TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND INDEPENDENT AFRICAN CHIEFS OF STATE ASSEMBLED IN MOGADISCIO: THERE WILL BE NO IMMEDIATE GRANT OF INDEPENDENCE TO ANY PORTUGUESE AFRICAN TERRITORY, BUT A PHASE PROCESS LEADING TOWARD SELF-DETERMINATION WITH NO TARGET DATE BUT AN IMPLIED RELATIVELY EXTENDED PERIOD. UNDOUBTEDLY FIRMNESS OF SPINOLA POSITION HAS SUBJECTED GOP TO INTERNAL STRESS WHICH COULD BECOME INTENSIFIED IF SOARES, UNDOUBTEDLY UNDER PROTEST, ACCEPTS THIS LINE, BUT FAILS TO BUDGE PAIGC ON ISSUE OF REFERENDUM IN GUINEA-BISSAU. END SUMMARY

1. NEW GOVERNORS-GENERAL FOR ANGOLA (GENERAL SILVINO SILVERIO MARQUES) AND MOZAMBIQUE (DR. HENRIQUE SOARES DE MELO) SWORN IN ON JUNE 11. PRESIDENT SPINOLA USED OCCASION TO DELIVER MAJOR POLICY SPEECH OUTLINING PORTUGAL'S DECOLONIZATION PROGRAM, ESSENTIALLY A RESTATEMENT OF FORMULA PRESENTED IN HIS BOOK "PORTUGAL AND THE FUTURE."

2. SPINOLA SAID SELF-DETERMINATION AND DEMOCRACY ARE TOUCHSTONES OF OVERSEAS POLICY. GENUINE SELF-DETERMINATION EXISTS WHEN PEOPLE FREE TO CHOOSE AND SHAPE KIND OF SOCIETY THEY DESIRE IN CLIMATE OF FREE AND PERFECT FUNCTIONING OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. THESE CONDITIONS DO NOT NOW EXIST IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA WHOSE PEOPLES DO NOT NOW ENJOY EFFECTIVE MEANS TO EXERCISE CHOICE AND PARTICIPATE IN THEIR GOVERNMENT. THEREFORE "IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE" WOULD BE A NEGATION OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND IDEALS INSPIRING THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT. PORTUGAL'S RESPONSIBILITY TO PEOPLES OF OVERSEAS DOES NOT LIE IN IMPOSING OPTIONS UPON THEM, BUT IN PHASED DECOLONIZATION, TO TAKE PLACE "AT THE PACE THAT OUR CAPACITIES PERMIT," FOR WHICH HE PROPOSED A FOUR-POINT PROGRAM: (1) CEASE-FIRE; (2) RECONSTRUCTION AND ACCELERATED DEVELOPMENT; (3) ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND ACCELERATED REGIONALIZATION OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL

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STRUCTURES; AND (4) "POPULAR CONSULTATION" (I.E., REFERENDUM, THOUGH HE AVOIDED USING THE WORD AND MIGHT BE LEAVING DOOR SLIGHTLY AJAR TO SOME OTHER METHOD OF SEEKING POPULAR WILL).

3. OBVIOUSLY REFERRING TO AFRICAN DEMANDS THAT PORTUGAL AGREE TO PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE FOR PORTUGUESE AFRICA, SPINOLA ASSERTED THAT SELF-DETERMINATION CANNOT BE DISASSOCIATED FROM INDEPENDENCE, DEFINING AN INDE-

PENDENT PEOPLE AS ONE WHICH HAD CHOSEN DEMOCRATICALLY AND VIA SELF-DETERMINATION THE LAWS BY WHICH IT WAS GOVERNED. RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE IS THUS REDUNDANT SINCE IT IS IMPLICIT IN CONCEPT OF SELF-DETERMINATION AS LONG AS THE CONSEQUENCES THEREOF, WHATEVER THEY MIGHT BE, ARE ACCEPTED.

4. OBVIOUSLY ADDRESSING HIMSELF PRINCIPALLY TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, SPINOLA STATED THAT ARMED STRUGGLE TO RESOLVE PORTUGUESE AFRICAN QUESTION WAS JUSTIFIED WHILE PORTUGAL HAD DIFFERENT POLITICAL ETHIC, BUT THAT NOW THERE PLACE ONLY FOR DEBATE OF IDEAS AND COMMON EFFORT TO BUILD DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES. HE STATED THAT IT IS UP TO PEOPLES OF OVERSEAS, AND UP TO THEM ONLY, TO DECIDE IF FUTURE WILL HOLD FEDERATION, CONFEDERATION, COMMUNITY, OR THE SIMPLE COEXISTENCE OF TOTALLY INDEPENDENT STATES. HE APPEALED TO THOSE WHO HAD FOUGHT, NOT AGAINST THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE BUT AGAINST THEIR REGIME, AND WHOSE REASONS FOR FIGHTING HAD NOW FINISHED.

5. SPINOLA ENDED BY STATING THAT ALL COULD NOW BE TRANQUIL: THE NEUTRAL AFRICANS WHO WILL NOW BE GIVEN THEIR OPTION; THE AFRICANS WHO FOUGHT ON PORTUGAL'S SIDE WHO HAD THEREBY TAKEN THEIR OPTION; THE EUROPEANS IN AFRICA WHO WILL NOT BE ABANDONED IN AN EFFORT TO FIND THE EASY AND POPULAR WAY OUT; AND THOSE WHO HAVE FOUGHT FOR THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION WHOSE WILL SHALL BE RESPECTED THROUGH THE WILL OF THE MAJORITIES.

6. COMMENT: SPEECH CAME ON EVE OAU SUMMIT AND TWO DAYS BEFORE RESUMPTION NEGOTIATIONS WITH PAIGC IN ALGIERS, PRESUMABLY NOT BY ACCIDENT.

SPEECH WILL UNDOUBTEDLY CAUSE INITIAL STORM OF PROTEST FROM MILITANTS IN MOGADISCIO AND FROM LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, AND WILL SUBJECT AFRICAN MODERATES TO PRESSURES TO ABANDON THEIR EFFORTS TO SECURE OAU POSITION WHICH WILL GIVE BREATHING

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SPACE FOR NEGOTIATIONS. TO THE EXTENT THAT SOARES'S NEGOTIATIONS HAVE ENCOURAGED OTHER SIDE TO FEEL THAT SPINOLA POSITION HAD SOFTENED, SPEECH HAS MERIT OF CLEARING AIR OF DOUBTS. SINCE IT HOLDS OUT NO SPECIAL REWARD TO THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN FIGHTING FOR OVER A DECADE, IT WILL PRESUMABLY CAUSE HARDENING ON OTHER SIDE OF NEGOTIATING TABLE. WHILE AT MOMENT IT APPEARS SOARES, HOWEVER RELUCTANTLY, IS PREPARED PROCEED WITH NEGOTIATIONS ON SPINOLA'S TERMS, IF NEGOTIATIONS BOG DOWN, AS SEEMS LIKELY, SOARES MAY FEEL COMPELLED TO LEAVE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AND BRING PRESENT POLITICAL HONEYMOON IN PORTUGAL TO AN END. SCOTT

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARAMILITARY FORCES, SPEECHES, POLITICAL SITUATION, NEGOTIATIONS, SELFDETERMINATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 JUN 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: izenbei0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974LISBON02416
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740151-1176
From: LISBON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740653/aaaabtcp.tel
Line Count: 164
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: izenbei0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 APR 2002 by elyme>; APPROVED <20 FEB 2003 by izenbei0>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SPINOLA DEFINES PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN POLICY SUMMARY: IN MAJOR STATEMENT OF POLICY ON PORTUGUESE AFRICA, PRESIDENT
TAGS: PINT, PO, (MARQUES, SILVINO SILVERIO), (SPINOLA)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005